

## Message Text

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42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SS-20 DRC-01 RSC-01 SSO-00

NEA-10 EB-11 /069 W

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O 291420Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8962

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 17185

FOR ASST SECY STOESSEL FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: GW, US, PFOR, OTRA

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING: AMBAS-  
SADOR'S UPDATED PERSONAL ASSESSMENT

1. THIS ASSESSMENT OF US-FRG RELATIONS UPDATES BONN 14601 OF OCTOBER 9. MOST OF WHAT I REPORTED THERE REMAINS VALID. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP, STEMMING FROM THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND THE RESULTING ENERGY SHORT-AGE. EVENTS IN THESE TWO AREAS HAVE TENDED TO INTENSIFY THE GERMAN EFFORT TO FOLD THE FRG INTO A MORE COHESIVE WEST EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK AND, CONSEQUENTLY, TO MOVE TOWARD COMMON EUROPEAN POSITIONS. FOR THE MOST PART, THESE POSITIONS, UNFORTUNATELY, ARE TO SOME DEGREE AT ODDS WITH OUR OWN.

2. THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT TOOK A PRO-ISRAELI STANCE AT THE OUTSET OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR. OUR RESUPPLY OF ISRAEL FROM US MILITARY DEPOTS IN GERMANY HAD THE GOVERNMENT'S TACIT SUPPORT. AS ARAB OIL PRESSURES ON THE FRG MOUNTED, HOWEVER, THE FRG OPTED FOR A MORE NEUTRAL POSITION, AND THIS IN TURN LED TO DIFFICULTIES IN OUR CONTINUING THE RESUPPLY OPERATION FROM GERMAN TERRITORY, ESPECIALLY BY MEANS OF ISRAELI FLAG VESSELS. THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT (ALTHOUGH NOT AT ALL

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UNIFIED ON ITS MIDDLE EAST POLICY) TOOK THE POSITION

THAT OVERT SUPPORT OF ISRAEL FROM GERMAN TERRITORY WOULD JEOPARDIZE VITAL FRG INTERESTS IN ARAB OIL, BUT AFTER SOME HESITATION, THE GOVERNMENT DID PERMIT NON-PUBLICIZED FURTHER SHIPMENTS BOTH BY AIR AND BY NON-ISRAELI VESSELS SO THAT ALL CONTEMPLATED DELIVERIES FROM THE FRG COULD BE COMPLETED.

3. WHATEVER THE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN TIMELY CONSULTATIONS AS WE HAVE EXPLAINED THEM, OUR PROPOSAL IN BRUSSELS FOR NATO ALLIES TO GO SLOW IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE US FORCES ALERT WERE INTERPRETED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS MOVES TAKEN WITHOUT FULL AND ADEQUATE CONSULTATION. OUR SUBSEQUENT REASSURANCES ABOUT FUTURE CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES HAVE, HOWEVER, ALLEVIATED SOME OF THE CONCERNS THAT BECAME EVIDENT IN LATE OCTOBER AND EARLY NOVEMBER.

4. THE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE ARABS AND WITH THE US HAVE LED THE FRG TO JOIN WITH OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE EC IN ADOPTING A FAIRLY UNIFIED EUROPEAN POLITICAL POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST AIMED AT KEEPING THE ARABS SATISFIED ENOUGH TO MINIMIZE FURTHER CUTBACKS IN EUROPE'S OIL. WHETHER IT WILL ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION. IN TAKING THESE POSITIONS, THE GERMANS HAVE OBVIOUSLY PROCEEDED IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THEY MIGHT RUN COUNTER TO US INTERESTS. THE KEY ELEMENT IN THIS SITUATION IS

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8963

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 17185

THAT THE GERMANS PERCEIVE THEIR VITAL ENERGY INTERESTS AS TAKING PRECEDENCE OVER FULL SUPPORT FOR US POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS MAY BE A SHORT-SIGHTED VIEW, BUT IT IS CLEARLY THE ONE THAT HAS BEEN ADOPTED.

5. SINCE MY PREVIOUS ASSESSMENT THE GERMANS HAVE, AS EXPECTED, SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED THEIR MILITARY BOP OFFSET OFFER. OUR POSITIONS REMAIN FAR APART, HOWEVER, AND, IN MY JUDGMENT, ARE NOT BRIDGEABLE BY FULL, "HARD" OFFSET. THE OFFSET NEGOTIATION IS, AS USUAL, PROVING TO BE DIFFICULT AND BURDENSOME ON OUR RELATIONS. IT SHOULD BE WRAPPED UP QUICKLY NOW. THERE IS LITTLE MORE TO GAIN; INDEED, WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME THE IMPROVEMENT IN OUR BOP POSITION TENDS TO WEAKEN OUR CASE. IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE I HAVE INDICATED THAT, IN LIGHT OF THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT, I SEE OUR OPTIONS AS EITHER TO ACCEPT A TWO-YEAR HARD OFFSET FOR ONE YEAR'S EXPENDITURES AND IN THE MEANTIME WORK WITH THE CONGRESS--HOPEFULLY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SUBSTANTIAL SURPLUSES IN THE OVER-ALL US BALANCE OF PAYMENTS--FOR A NONREPETITION OR SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATION OF THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT OR, ALTERNATIVELY, TO ACCEPT LOANS IN THE OFFSET TO FILL THE GAP.  
HILLENBRAND

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